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ABSTRACT

The public address of Afro-Americans currently relates mostly to their basic human rights as American citizens. Racism, either on an institutional or individual basis, permeates every facet of black life, and the public address and private communication of blacks focus largely on the experience of racism. Studies of public speaking by black Americans reveal a similarity of themes, based on six recurring topics: politics, housing, employment, education, public accommodations, and self-pride. As long as Afro-Americans are denied their basic human rights, their public addresses will continue to focus on these topics. (An outline for a two-semester college course in the public address of black Americans is included.) (RN)

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THE PUBLIC ADDRESS OF BLACK AMERICA

by

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Baltimore, Maryland
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The Public Address of Black America

There is no doubt about the fact that racism permeates every facet of black life in the United States. Everytime a black person steps outside of the confines of his private domicile, he faces racism in one form or another. It is the concept of racism which causes a patron of a self-service laundromat in a predominantly white neighborhood to approach the only black customer and make the assumption that the black person is employed in the laundromat instead of another customer. It is racism which results in the black colleges in a state college school system receiving inadequate and poorly constructed facilities.

Necessarily then, the public address and private communication of black Americans will contain a preponderance of matters relating to experiences with racism, the results of racism, objections to racism, and attempts at stopping and combating racism. These concerns are the subject of this paper. The public address of black America was, is, and shall continue to focus on racism for as long as it is practiced in the United States and until every vestige of it has been removed from this society.

Within this paper public address shall be defined as any recorded statement of a black American in an attempt to speak to an overt or covert audience. Therefore, this paper shall include references to speeches before an audience as well as poetry and/or prose in which the writer or speaker seeks to inquire, to disseminate information, to find truth, and/or to substantiate truth.

When one looks at the public address of black America, one cannot do so as though public address exists in a vacuum. Inasmuch as people speak and write about things affecting their lives, in order to study the public address of Afro-Americans, one needs to be knowledgeable about history, politics, sociology, economics, education, and in more recent times, the mass media as well. Public address does not exist in a vacuum, but crosses many lines of knowledge. Within the limits of this paper, I have attempted to point out that one can find public address from long ago and from the present which discuss the same topics in much the same way. That is, for the most part, little has changed in terms of time for black people in this country.

Turning to research on the public address of black America, it would seem on first observation that at least in the public library of Baltimore,City, in the "Free State" of Maryland, blacks have no history of public address. It was suggested that I go to the "Afro-American Collection" in the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. To my utter chagrin, the"Afro-American Specialist" is a white, blue-eyed, blond-haired young lady who brought me a total of three references--all published in 1971--and one of these was entitled <u>The Black Press</u>. Moreover, the total collection contains approximately 1500 volumes on black Americans.

Needless to say, this agency proved unsatisfactory for this paper. The basic research for this paper, therefore, comes from the Negro Collection in the Soper Library of Morgan State College.

In researching this topic, it became quite obvious that the most often encountered subjects in the public address of Afro-Americans relate to basic human rights as citizens of this country. This paper will focus on those human rights and the topoi under which they fall. While the former terms used to describe denial of these human rights are Jim Crow, segregation, and discrimination, the current term seems to be racism and racism is inextricably bound to the denial of basic human rights for Afro-Americans; hence, it is often the focus of the public address of black America.

Within the public address of Afro-Americans, there are several recurring topics. They are politics, housing, employment, education, public accommodations, and pride. Similar findings were uncovered during an analysis of the "Simple" columns which were written over a twenty-three years period by Langston Hughes. As stated in this unpublished dissertation, "the major themes developed in the Simple columns concern housing, employment, education, recreation, and entertainment."[1] Along with the recurring subjects, there are also analyses of social forces and their impact upon black people in relation to the racial tensions in this country.

Before going any further, it seems important to stress the meaning of human rights for black Americans. Let it be duly noted that these rights are not legislated, but are

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1. Lucia S. Hawthorne, "A Rhetoric of Human Rights as Expressed in the 'Simple Columns' by Langston Hughes," Ph.D. Dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University, 1971.

assumed to be automatic by virtue of the fact that one is a citizen of the United States. These rights mean that a black individual should have the same human rights as any other citizen in spite of his high visibility. However, there is a distinct difference between what should be and what is for black Americans. Herein lies the reason for the general topoi of the public address of black Americans.

Let us now turn to concrete examples of the public address of black Americans. In each instance, excerpts of certain forms of public address will be presented. They will be offered for comparison and contrast between the then and the now. With regard to politics, first we have excerpts from Frederick Douglass' "The Fourth of July" which was delivered on July 5, 1852.

> Fellow-citizens, pardon me, allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here to-day? What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us? and am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us? . . .
>
> But such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorius anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you, this day, rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought light and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth July is yours, not mine. . . .[2]

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2. Arthur L. Smith, Rhetoric of Black Revolution, pp. 134-135.

Such were some of the statements of Douglass in 1852 and the following came from Eldridge Cleaver in 1968:

> I think the first thing we have to realize, really get into our minds, is that it is a reality when you hear people say that there's a "black colony" and a "white mother country." I think you really have to get that distinction clear in your minds in order to understand that there are two different sets of political dynamics functioning in this country. If you don't make that distinction, then a lot of the activities going on in this country will be non-sensical. For instance, if there's a homogeneous country and everyone here is a citizen of that country, it makes a lot of sense to insist that black people participate in electoral politics and all the other forms of politics as we have known them. But if you accept the analysis that the black colony is separate and distinct from the mother country, than a lot of other forms of political struggle are indicated.[3]

Still further, in a televised man-on-the-street interview concerning July 4, 1972 in Baltimore City, the questions were What does the Fourth of July mean to you? or How do you feel about the Fourth of July? Some of the responses from black people were:

> It's whitey's holiday.
> It's for the white folks.
> I feel like it don't include me.
> I get a day off from my gig.
> It don't mean nothing to me.[4]

The point seems quite clear. The masses of black people in this country were and are outside of the mainstream of politics. Because of the political structure of this country affects so much of daily living, it remains a foremost part of the public address of Afro-Americans.

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3. Smith, p. 166.

4. "North Star," WBAL, NBC Affiliate, Baltimore, Maryland, July 9, 1972.

The housing situation for black people in North America has been a source of discontent for generations. Some few blacks have been able to acquire the housing that they desired, but at a tremendous price financially, psychologically, socially, and politically in many instances.

First, there is an excerpt from The Souls of Black Folk as published in 1903.

> ... There were in the county, outside the corporate town of Albany, /Georgia/ about fifteen hundred Negro families in 1898. Out of all these, only a single family occupied a house with seven rooms; only fourteen have five rooms or more. The mass live in one- and two-room homes.
>
> The size and arrangements of a people's homes are no unfair index of their condition. If, then, we inquire more carefully into these Negro homes, we find much that is unsatisfactory. All over the face of the land is the one-room cabin,--now standing in the shadow of the Big House, now staring at the dusty road, now rising dark and sombre amid the green of the cotton-fields. It is nearly always old and bare, built of rough boards, and neither plastered nor ceiled. Light and ventilation are supplied by the single door and by the square hole in the wall with its wooden shutter. There is no glass, porch, or ornamentation without. Within is a fireplace, black and smoky, and usually unsteady with age. A bed or two, a table, a wooden chest, and a few chairs compose the furniture; while a stray show-bill or a newspaper makes up the docorations for the walls. . . .
>
> Here in Dougherty County one may find families of eight and ten occupying one or two rooms, and for every ten rooms of house accommodation for the Negroes there are twenty-five persons. The worst tenement abominations of New York do not have above twenty-two persons for every ten rooms. Of course, one small, close room in a city, without a yard, is in many respects worse than the larger single country room. In other respects it is better; it has glass windows, a decent chimney, and a trustworthy floor. The single great advantage of the Negro peasant is that he may spend most of his life outside his hovel, in the open fields.[5]

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5. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk, pp. 106-107.

More recently, one may still find dissatisfaction among blacks trying to acquire satisfactory housing. The following is an excerpt from the last "Simple" column by Langston Hughes as published in January, 1966.

"Joyce says we will be the first Negroes in the block,"

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There is great pain and anguish in knowing that one is being bilked and not being able to deal with it suitably. Such is the situation for most black Americans and therein lies the reason that housing is a recurring topic of Afro-Americans.

If one is denied full participation in the political process of the land in which he was born as well as an open choice as to where he chooses to live, then it would seem that he might at least be granted the right to suitable employment according to his abilities as well as his potentialities, but this human right is far too often also denied the black American.

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6. Langston Hughes. ". . . and the End", originally published in The Chicago Defender, January 18, 1966, as quoted by Lucia S. Hawthorne in "A Rhetoric of Human Rights as Expressed in the 'Simple Columns' by Langston Hughes", p. 204.

As long ago as 1837, a black man voiced his feelings about "Prejudice Against the Colored Man". The following is taken from that speech by Theodore S. Wright:

> This is a serious business, sir. The prejudice which exists against the colored man, the free man is like the atmosphere, everywhere felt by him. It is true that in these United States and in this State, there are men, like myself, colored with the skin like my own, who are not subjected to the lash, who are not liable to have their wives and their infants torn from them; from whose hand the Bible is not taken. . . . This spirit is withering all our hopes, and ofttimes causes the colored parent as he looks upon his child, to wish he had never been born. . . .
>
> This influence cuts us off from everything; it follows us up from childhood to manhood; it excludes us from all stations of profit, usefulness and honor; takes away from us all motive for pressing forward in enterprises, useful and important to the world and to ourselves.
>
> In the first place, it cuts us off from the advantages of the mechanic arts almost entirely. A colored man can hardly learn a trade, and if he does it is difficult for him to find any one who will employ him to work at that trade, in any part of the State. In most of our large cities there are associations of mechanics who legislate out of their society colored men. And in many cases where our young men have learned trades, they have had to come to low employments for want of encouragement in those trades.[7]

There were problems in employment then. There are problems in employment and a secure economic base now. In a speech entitled "A Long Way to Go" in 1965, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. stated the following:

> I mentioned economic justice and I gave a big figure,
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7. Carter G. Woodson, Ph.D., Negro Orators and Their Orations, p. 93.

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we have a long, long way to go.[8]

Statistics sometimes leave one with little reaction to the seriousness of a matter. Moreover, there are some people who will reject percentages because of distrust or because of a personal prejudice toward the speaker or the ethnic group concerned. However, these attitudes do not change the fact that employment is one of the main subjects of public address among black Americans. As recently as August, 1972, in "What is Happening to Blacks in Broadcasting?", the following statement was attributed to Samuel Yette, author of The Choice and professor of communications at Howard University.

> What currently appears as progressive moves toward black employment in the white media is largely. . . pacification, not unlike other pacification measures aimed at blacks during the last decade." This "pacification," he says, seeks to "increase the oppressor's credibility with (and control over) the oppressed; hiring black reporters--visibly--does this." According to Yette, the black reporter who assists the media in this "pacification" process is welcome; the reporter who sees through it and protests is fired.[9]

Upward mobility still largely, if not totally, depends on

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8. Arthur L. Smith and Stephen Robb (editors), The Voice of Black Rhetoric: Selections, p. 194.

9. Edith Efron, "What Is Happening to Blacks in Broadcasting?" TV Guide 20:34 (August 19-25, 1972).

the acquisition of employment which allows one to earn a satisfactory income. As long as the masses of Afro-Americans are excluded from satisfactory employment, this subject will remain a strong part of our public address.

Having dealt with politics, housing, and employment as three of the main lines of argument utilized in the public address of Afro-Americans, we now turn to education, a source of tension and racial conflict among blacks for generations. Because of the need for a satisfactory education (not an adequate education) in order to deal effectively with politics, to secure suitable housing, and to be prepared for desirable employment, education is another often-used topic of the public address of black Americans.

The first quotation that is cited comes from DuBois.

> From the close of the war until 1876, was the period of uncertain groping and temporary relief. There were army schools, mission schools, and schools of the Freedman's Bureau in chaotic disarrangement seeking system and cooperation. Then followed ten years of constructive definite effort toward the building of complete school systems in the South. Normal schools and colleges were founded for the freedmen, and teachers trained there to man the public schools. Meantime, starting in this decade yet especially developing from 1885 to 1895, began the industrial revolution of the South. . . . The educational system striving to complete itself saw new obstacles and a field of work ever broader and deeper. The Negro colleges, hurriedly founded, were inadequately equipped, illogically distributed, and of varying efficiency and grade; . . . .In the midst, then, of the larger problem of Negro education sprang up the more practical question of work, the inevitable economic quandary that faces a people in the transition from slavery to freedom, and especially those who make that change amid hate and prejudice, lawlessness and ruthless competition. . . .

> From the very first in nearly all the schools some attention had been given to training in handiwork, but now was this training first raised to a dignity that brought it in direct touch with the South's magnificent industrial development, and given an emphasis which reminded black folk that before the Temple of Knowledge swing the Gates of Toil. . . .
>
> The tendency is here, born of slavery and quickened to renewed life by the crazy imperialism of the day, to regard human beings as among the material resources of a land to be trained with an eye single to future dividends. Race-prejudices, which keep brown and black men in their 'places,' we are coming to regard as useful allies with such a theory, no matter how much they may dull the ambition and sicken the hearts of struggling human beings. And above all, we daily hear that an education that encourages aspiration, that sets the loftiest of ideals and seeks as an end culture and character rather than bread-winning, is the privilege of white men and the danger and delusion of black.[10]

Clearly, education for Afro-Americans started poorly and was controlled by whites for their purposes and to their advantage and to the distinct disadvantage of the blacks.

In terms of what the schools for blacks were doing in 1905, there is a speech by Roscoe Conkling Bruce and the following is an excerpt:

> But, it is unquestionably true that the curriculum of the New England college which New England teachers planted in the South is not adequately adjusted to the life of white youth in New England today, much less to the life of black youth in the lower South. The misfortune is that, while in New England that curriculum has since the sixties been brought into vital relations with present-day conditions, in the South it retains much of the old-time rigor and narrowness and there is much worship of fetich. The Negro college in the South should admit students who have never studied Latin or Greek, and should

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10. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk, pp. 76-78.

> enrich its curriculum by the addition of thorough courses in natural science with its applications to trade and industry; in history and social science with special attention to the traditions and progress of Negro peoples in Africa and in America, and to the sociological problems in which Negro life in America is enmeshed today. The Negro college should render its curriculum flexible and more widely serviceable through the introduction of an elective system by the provisions of which the dead languages might give way to the living languages and history and social science, and advanced mathematics to psychology and ethics and the principles and practice of education. And, finally, the Negro university should organize well-equipped schools of education, of engineering, of agriculture alongside of the school of medicine.[11]

It would appear from parts of the above passage that the words belong to some black educators of the 1960's and the 1970's. Plainly, education for blacks was and is a source of discontent. This fact is still further emphasized in the following two quotations.

At the 1965 Conference of the National Urban League, Whitney Young said:

> The improvement of our educational levels and our educational systems. We are all familiar with the failure of the American educational system to provide good schools for all--and particularly for Negro children and youth. I will not chronicle again the long list of abuses which Negro pupils must live with every day in the slum schools of America. Anyone who denies that our children are receiving the poorest education, the poorest instruction, that they are exposed to the poorest facilities, the poorest texts, is just plain out of touch with reality.[12]

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11. Carter G. Woodson, Ph.D., Negro Orators and Their Orations, p. 594.

12. Jamye Coleman Williams and McDonald Williams (editors), The Negro Speaks: The Rhetoric of Contemporary Black Leaders, pp. 186-187.

Lastly, on the topic of education, an aggrieved black parent, Maude White Katz, wrote the following in 1968:

> Racism is a factor because 'the improvement of Negro occupational qualifications depends largely, although not completely, upon the improvement in the quantity and quality of Negro education' . . .
>
> . . . . . .

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As long as parents such as Mrs. Katz verbalize their discontent and anger about education for black Americans and black folk deal with the forms of public address, education will be a prime target in the topoi of the public address of Afro-Americans.

Frustrated by blatant and subtle racism in politics, housing, employment, and education, the Afro-American has sought satisfaction in public accommodations. And here again,

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13. Toni Cade (Editor), The Black Woman: An Anthology, pp. 126-127.

he has been denied his human rights. In 1842, Charles Lenox Remond spoke in part the following:

> Our right to citizenship in this State has been acknowledged and secured by the allowance of the elective franchise and consequent taxation; and I know of no good reason, if admitted in this instance, why it should be denied in any other.
>
> . . . . .
>
> But it is said we all look alike. If this is true, it is not true that we all behave alike. There is a marked difference; and we claim a recognition of this difference.
>
> . . . . .
>
> On the morning after my return home, I was obliged to go to Boston again, and on going to the Salem station I met two friends, who inquired if I had any objection to their taking seats with me. I answered, I should be most happy. They took their seats accordingly, and soon afterwards one of them remarked to me--"Charles, I don't know if they will allow us to ride with you." It was some time before I could understand what they meant, and, on doing so, I laughed--feeling it to be a climax to every absurdity I had heard attributed to Americans. To say nothing of the wrong done those friends, and the insult and indignity offered me by the appearance of the conductor, who ordered the friends from the car in a somewhat harsh manner--they immediately left the carriage.[14]

Remond's narrative in this speech vividly depicts what so many black Americans have experienced over the years when traveling, seeking nourishment for the body, seeking lodging for the night, or seeking pleasurable relaxation. Seventy-seven years later, Langston Hughes experienced racism while traveling by train. Hughes could be mistaken for a Mexican

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14. Carter G. Woodson, Ph.D., Negro Orators and Their Orations, pp. 145; 147-148.

at that time and he used this characteristic to secure a Pullman berth and to eat in the dining car. The following is Hughes' description of the incident:

> But that evening, crossing Texas, I was sitting alone at a small table in the diner, when a white man came in and took a seat just across the table from mine. Shortly, I noticed him staring at me intently, as if trying to puzzle out something. He stared at me a long time. Then, suddenly, with a loud cry, the white man jumped up and shouted: "You're a nigger, ain't you?" And rushed out of the car as if pursued by a plague.
>
> I grinned. I had heard before that white Southerners never sat down to table with a Negro, but I didn't know until then that we frightened them that badly.[15]

Humor is often used to reveal the ludicrous and sometimes to hide severe anguish. This incident occurred, as stated, in 1919. Hughes first published it in 1940. Needless to say, the incident left an indelible mark.

Until racism no longer permeates the burial grounds for black men killed in Vietnam, until racism no longer restricts medical help for a person such as Bessie Smith, until hotel accommodations are equal for black and white at conventions, until black persons see black conductors on trains, until all public accommodations are open to all of the public, public accommodations, too, will be a main part of the public address of black America.

It would seem that when one group has stripped another group of their human rights in politics, housing, employment,

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15. Langston Hughes, The Big Sea, p. 50.

education, and public accommodations, that the former group would be rid of the latter group, but such is not the case for the Afro-American. He has repeatedly drawn on an inner asset and also used it in his public address. This asset is pride and it takes many forms--faith, attitude, carriage, self-determination, self-confidence. This pride implies "I am Somebody" no matter what. Frederick Douglass demonstrated this pride when he spoke at Boston in 1849.

Douglass said:

> You have no prejudice against blacks--no more than against any other color--but it is against the black man appearing as the colored gentlemen. He is then a contradiction of your theory of natural inferiority in the colored race. It was not in consequence of my complexion that I was driven out of the cabin, for I could have remained there as a servant; but being there as a gentleman, having paid my own passage, and being in company with intelligent, refined persons, was what awakened the hatred, and brought down upon me the insulting manifestations I have alluded to.
>
> . . . . .
>
> I feel, sir, I have as much right in this country as any other man. I feel that the black man in this land has as much right to stay in this land as the white man. . . .
>
> We have other claims to being regarded and treated as American citizens. Some of our number have fought and bled for this country, and we only ask to be treated as well as those who have fought against it. . . . We are not only told by Americans to go out of our native land to Africa, and there enjoy our freedom--for we must go there in order to enjoy it--but Irishmen newly landed on our soil, who know nothing of our institutions, nor of the history of our country, whose toil has not been mixed with the soil of the country as ours--have the audacity to propose our removal from this, the land of our birth. For my

> part, I mean for one, to stay in this country; I have made up my mind to live among you.[16]

Douglass had determined that he was a man and that he would not be "broken".

Through the years, many black speakers and writers have referred explicitly or implicitly to this pride. Some of the persons are DuBois, Imamu Baraka, Sterling Brown, Margaret Walker, and Dudley Randall. There is a theme of self-containment.

In 1968, Nikki Giovanni published a poem entitled "Nikki-Roasa". In part, it says:

> childhood rememberances are always a drag
> if you're Black . . .

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This passage is the essence of a self-sustaining drive which I have named pride. Grier and Cobbs have given this force another name. In The Jesus Bag, they wrote:

> We submit that if America is to discover that new experience, it must look to those who have survived its cruelty and must learn from them. The black capacity for converting weakness into strength needed for survival is nowhere more evident than in religion. ...
>
> For blacks, the misery of life was too much and they reached into the religious experience to extract a black mystique--"soul."

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16. Carter G. Woodson, Ph.D., Negro Orators and Their Orations, pp. 185-186.

17. Bradford Chambers and Rebecca Moon (Editors), Right On! An Anthology of Black Literature, p. 301.

> Soul is the toughness born of hard times and the compassion oppressed people develop after centuries of sharing a loaf that is never enough. It is a special brotherhood of those set apart from their fellows, made visible by physical appearance, and different customs. Soul is the graceful survival under impossible circumstances.[18]

Undoubtedly, there is a pride, a faith, a mystique, or one may call it "soul", but regardless of what term one chooses, there is an aura of survival among black Americans that has sustained us in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds. Because this aura is so vital to Afro-Americans, it is constantly a part of our public address.

The public address of black America then, generally speaking, has six basic topoi. They are politics, housing, employment, education, public accommodations, and pride. Because of the denial of the human rights of Afro-Americans through the practice of institutionalized and individualized racism, black public address, irrespective of its categorical label in rhetoric, has focused on these lines of argument.

Moreover, whether one looks to the earliest recorded public address of black America, to the turn of the century, or to contemporary public address by Afro-Americans, one sees the similarity of messages on the same subjects. The more recent public address is an echo of the older public address. Little has changed over the years for black people in this country.

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18. William H. Grier, M.D. and Price M. Cobbs, M.D., The Jesus Bag, p. 167.

The masses of Afro-Americans are still denied their basic human rights. Hence, the public address of black America was, is, and shall continue to focus on these topics as long as they relate to the human rights of Afro-Americans.

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THE PUBLIC ADDRESS OF BLACK AMERICA

(This is a two-semester course.)

Philosophy of the Course

It would appear within the area of speech communication that with the exceptions of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington's "Atlanta Exposition Address", and Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech plus perhaps a few others, that little else in the public address of black America has been studied in depth. This course is designed to right this matter in the study of black public address and to fill one of the voids within speech communication that has for so long been in existence.

Aims of the Course

1. To design an overall perspective of the public address of black America.
2. To define public address.
3. To study public address and its relationship to rhetoric.
4. To relate the public address of Afro-Americans to human rights.
5. To review concrete examples of black public address.

I. Introduction and Orientation

- A. Perspective of course
  - 1. Public address defined
  - 2. Relationship to racism
  - 3. Relationship to human rights
- B. Historical perspective
- C. Research on subject

II. Rhetoric

- A. Aristotle
- B. Literary Criticism
- C. Speech Communication
  - 1. Categories
  - 2. Ethos, logos, pathos
- D. Applications

III. Human Rights Developed in Black Public Address

A. Politics

1. Local
2. National

B. Economics

1. Housing

a. Inner city
b. Suburbia

2. Employment

a. Training
b. Upward mobility
c. Barriers

3. Education

a. Facilities
b. Equipment
c. Personnel

C. Public Accommodations

1. Travel

2. Restaurants

3. Lodging

4. Recreation

D. Pride

1. Definition

2. Use

3. Survival

Textbook:

Smith, Arthur L. Language, Communication, and Rhetoric in Black America. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972.

Some Suggested Readings:

Cade, Toni (Editor). The Black Woman: An Anthology. New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1970.

Chambers, Bradford and Rebecca Moon (Editors). Right On! An Anthology of Black Literature. New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1970.

Chapman, Abraham (Editor). Black Voices: An Anthology of Afro-American Literature. New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1968.

DuBois, W. E. Burghardt. The Souls of Black Folk. Greenwich, Connecticut. Fawcette Publications, Inc., 1961.

Golden, James L. and Richard D. Rieke. The Rhetoric of Black Americans. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co. 1971.

Grier, William H., M.D. and Price M. Cobbs, M.D. The Jesus Bag. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971.

Smith, Arthur L. and Stephen Robb (Editors). The Voice of Black Rhetoric: Selections. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971.

Woodson, Carter G., Ph.D. Negro Orators and Their Orations. New York: Russell & Russell, 1969.